Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100, 00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45, 00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75, 00
Total	220, 00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975, 00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3, 50
Salt, ½ kilo	1, 00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2, 00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1, 00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6, 00
Lard, ½ kilo	5, 00
Total for week	18, 50
Total for year	962, 00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975, 00
Food and household items	962, 00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122, 00
Total	2 059, 00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [241] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. He learned this craft from his [463] uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabité* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the parents dies, all the children of the family receive different names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow, remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says: I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, nothing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikŭ, because otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too, and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or three days; formerly it was five days.